DECEMBER, 1946

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The Distribution of Industry and New Towns.
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Progress in India
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EDITORIAL

The season which in this country goes by the name of summer is now a thing of the distant past. By now M Ps will no doubt already be wearing that haggard all-night-session look, and Fabians all over the country have gone back from Summer Schools to plunge into local election work and the chores of political education. The Society is in the midst of a programme of activities at least as strenuous and varied as any in the past, as reading of *In and Around Number Eleven* in this issue will indicate.

And the need is now more than ever urgent for activities of this kind—research, planning for the future, and political education. This last item, widespread political education, is a prime essential of the success of democratic socialism. The policies that must be carried out can only be carried out if they are understood and actively backed by a wide public.

And so the commitments of the Society are constantly increasing. It hardly needs saying that, to meet them adequately, we need greater resources and a bigger membership. Is it too much to ask of those Fabians, who already throughout the country often bear the brunt of political and social work in their localities, that they should add to their many tasks the recruitment of new members to the Society?

THE ALBERT HALL RALLY

On the evening of Sunday, 3rd November 1946, *the Fabian Society celebrated its Diamond Jubilee, delayed two years because of the war, with a Rally at the Albert Hall. An audience of* 6,000 *heard a concert by the London Symphony Orchestra conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham, and speeches by the Prime Minister, by Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, Ellen Wilkinson, Minister of Education, John Strachey, Minister of Food, and Professor Harold Laski as Chairman of the meeting. The event was sponsored by the 'Daily Herald' and organised in conjunction with the London Labour Party. Messages of greetings had been received, among others, from the Prime Minister and George Bernard Shaw, from Louis Saillant on behalf of the World Federation of Trade Unions and Lord Rusholme on behalf of the Co-operative Movement, from Morgan Phillips on behalf of the Labour Party and D. H. Daines on behalf of the London Labour Party.*

Ellen Wilkinson remarked in her speech : 'Margaret Cole, in that magnificent biography of Beatrice Webb, tells us how much Beatrice Webb looked forward to being present at the Diamond Jubilee of the Fabian Society'. This crowded meeting at the Albert Hall, the occasion of dozens of articles and reports in newspapers and magazines, and of several radio broadcasts in Britain and overseas, was a remarkable indication of the growth of the work of the tiny Fabian Society which Beatrice Webb joined, a Society originating in a handful of people in a private room in 1884. In a sense this was a celebration also of the fact that Labour is in power in this country. In addition to the Ministers who were speaking, the audience included other Labour Ministers, themselves long-standing Fabians, such as Jim Griffiths, Arthur Creech Jones and Lord Listowel.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

Harold Laski, making his first address to a Fabian audience since he became the Society's Chairman, said in his opening remarks :

> " This meeting, which has been made possible by the generous cooperation of the *Daily Herald* and by that of the erstwhile Fabian, Sir Thomas Beecham, now temporarily resident *in partibus infidelium*, is really the Diamond Jubilee of the Fabian Society. We could not let that occasion pass unnoticed. The great Labour victory in July 1945 is in a special way the victory of the Fabian idealists. Our founders foresaw its coming. They worked for it with energy and devotion. They gave a new word to the English language and a new doctrine to the social philosophy of the time."

He went on to welcome the speakers who were to follow him and then referred to the need of the Society for fresh recruits from all walks of life. He concluded with a passage punctuated by applause from the audience:

> 'There is one final remark I want to make. The great change in the last generation of the Fabian Society has been the enlargement of its interests, the concern with international and colonial questions. No Socialist Society could evade assessing the immense British responsibilities in these realms. I speak, I am confident, for the whole Society and the whole of the great movement of which it is a part, when I say we are bent on ending the exploitation of man by man, and that none knows better than we do that peace is a necessary condition of civilised living. So in the name of Fabian principles, on this

our sixtieth anniversary, I send our greetings to our comrades everywhere, in Russia and in Germany, in France and in Italy, in Greece and in Spain, in India and Indonesia, in China and Mexico and Japan. I send them to the Socialists who will vote rather sadly on Tuesday in the United States, as well as those who on November 7th will celebrate in Moscow the twenty-ninth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Socialism is comradeship, and comradeship transcends all countries, all nations, and colour, race and creed. Tonight, comrades, we celebrate the past, but in this maimed and scarred world we know—none better—that the true service to our heritage is dedication to the future.'

TRIBUTE TO THE FOUNDERS

The Prime Minister, Mr Clement Attlee, was enthusiastically greeted, and the audience expressed agreement with his sentiments when he said:

'Like the Chairman, I would like to add my thanks to the *Daily Herald* for giving us the opportunity of this great Rally. I could have wished that we had been able to have on the platform to address you the three outstanding survivors of the little group of exceptionally able men and women who made the Society a great political force, Lord Passfield, Bernard Shaw and Edward Pease. I am sure that this great meeting will desire to send to them its greetings and good wishes. The longevity and long-continued mental activity of these remarkable men are such that although I have completed my thirty-ninth year of membership, I have always continued to think of myself as a junior member, if not exactly a Young Fabian.'

Mr Attlee reminded his listeners of the change in the mental climate of the country which had taken place since the founding of the Society and of the part Fabians had played in bringing about that change. 'Radicalism, Trade Unionism and Co-operation have all played their part. The Christian Socialists, the old S D F and I L P did their distinctive work . . . . . Tonight we are paying a tribute to one particular Society, unique alike in its personnel, its character, function and method . . . . . First . . . the Fabian Socialists were eminently practical . . . . . Second, their approach to Socialism was characteristically British.' He pointed out how the Fabians by their research had provided 'powder and shot' for others, such as the I L P, and especially for socialists in local government.

'We saw last Saturday another great advance in the municipal elections by the Labour Party. It is well to recall that it was the Fabian Society that blazed the trail. I hold that this entry into the municipal field, the training in practical work and the assumption of responsibility were potent factors which saved our Party during the long years before our accession to power at Westminster from mere negation and the minority mind.

One other feature of the Fabian Society to which I must refer is also characteristically British, and that is its sense of humour. Its members did not take themselves too seriously. I should be the last to deprecate enthusiasm or to decry the importance of a crusading spirit in those who seek to build a new society, but it does sometimes lead to narrowness, pharisaism and the taking refuge from the intolerable burden of thought in the escapism of righteous indignation. I am certain that the broad tolerance of our Society and the readiness of its members to laugh at each other was a valuable corrective to this malady which is sometimes almost occupational in left wing movements.

Let me pay a tribute to the work of the Fabian Society in my capacity as leader of the Labour Party, of which it forms an integral part. From the days of the Labour Representation Committee of 1899 to the present time, Fabian representation has continued on our Executive. From the time of E. R. Pease to that of our Chairman tonight, Fabian representatives have always made a special contribution to our deliberations.

One word in conclusion. The Fabian Society has never made the mistake of putting the interests of the organisation above that of the cause. It was content, when the I L P was founded, to hand over the work of the formation

of local socialist branches to that body. It has been content to work within the ambit of the Labour Party loyally and unselfishly. It was content to supply weapons which others could use. It has sought to serve the movement, not to dominate it. It has seen the defined role in which it could be most useful. Long may it flourish.'

Herbert Morrison, mentioning the part of the *Daily Herald* in organising the Rally, remarked (with obvious reference to the proposed Royal Commission on the Press) that he had met on his way in Percy Cudlipp, Editor of the *Daily Herald*, who had shown no trepidation whatever at the sight of the Lord President. One of the outstanding parts of his speech referred to the work of Fabians in the field of social security, ever since the publication in 1909 of the famous Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law.

'This year, in this first session of the new Parliament, we have seen the passage unto law of one of the biggest advances in social security ever made in Britain. I refer to the National Insurance Act, 1946, coupled with the Industrial Injuries Insurance Act, and, subject to some minor disagreements with our Lordships, the National Health Service Bill as well. This Parliament will also see, so I notice by the prognostications of various Ministers, at some time in the present Parliament, a Poor Law Abolition Bill, which is a good title and states the case. And that, ladies and gentlemen, will be the final triumphant chapter in implementing Beatrice Webb's Minority Report of 1909 . . . It took nearly 40 years for the completion of the 1909 task. Thank goodness we move quicker nowadays.'

FUTURE TASKS

Mr Morrison also spoke of the work which still lay ahead of the Fabian Society, 'work of research and education':

'Here lies work to our hand, work of research and education. It is not enough to win elections, neither will Parliamentary legislation alone be enough to achieve true social progress. Social progress must begin and rely for its impetus in the hearts and brains of each of us. If progressive Government is to repel reactionary indifference or sabotage, it must be the organ of a progressive, democratic, responsible and enlightened electorate.

I say to members of the Fabian Society, your work is beginning. We do not want the type of democracy which can be swung this way and that by demagogic opportunism. That way lies democratic suicide. That way is the way which appeals to politicians without a policy. It is the way which appealed to Mussolini on his balcony. Crowded election meetings do little more than convert the converted or sway unstable emotion. They do not build true and reliable democracy. Discussion, argument, reading, research, often confined to small groups of people, are the sound foundation for a nation's advancing freedom and social responsibility. It is the hard way, and the long way, but it is the only way. And this is work near to hand and for which the Fabian Society is well equipped by years of experience.'

FABIANS AND EDUCATION

Ellen Wilkinson told how Fabian Tract No. 106 dated 1901, Sidney Webb's *The Education Muddle and the Way Out*, which had been the basis of the Education Act of 1902, was still a closely guarded possession of the library at the Ministry of Education. She referred to the work of Fabians in founding both the London School of Economics and a well-known Socialist weekly whose tradition of freedom is so strong 'that its present editor sometimes even feels free to praise the Labour Government'.

'It is a great story', she said, 'this story of the English Fabians. Those of us who, under the leadership of the Prime Minister, are today privileged —and it is a terrible as well as a great privilege—to help to build the new

Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land, look back with gratitude for all the help we have got from the fact-finding Fabians, and all the friendship and help we are getting now from their young and brilliant successors.'

INTERNATIONAL PLANNING

The last of the speakers was John Strachey, to whom Harold Laski had said in his opening remarks, ' If man does not live by bread alone, I can assure Mr Strachey on your behalf that this Society believes with all possible emphasis that he cannot live without it '. Mr Strachey claimed that he was following the Society's own tradition of irreverence, which had resulted in a succession of revolts by younger generations of Fabians against older members, when he suggested that in the early days ' the splendid concentration of the Fabians on Home Affairs did inevitably to some extent, in my view at least, impoverish their contribution to the rest of the world. Now what I want mainly to say this evening is that I believe that this limitation in the outlook of Fabianism must be remedied—and is being remedied today.' He believed that particularly in the sphere of Socialist planning for the Empire, ' a body not burdened and cumbered with executive responsibilities must lead the way '

> ' You will remember, Mr Chairman, the great controversy which has been conducted in Russia over the last twenty years—the controversy as to whether socialism was possible in one country. They came to the conclusion that it was. But then they had a very large country to work upon. If we are asked the same question here, if we are asked whether we think that socialism is possible in this much smaller country of Britain, we should surely reply that for us it is not a question of socialism in one country—it is a question of socialism in one world Commonwealth.'

Before the end of the speeches, Harold Laski left the Chair in order to make a broadcast, and his place was taken by Alderman Emil Davies, the Honorary Treasurer of the Society, who was warmly greeted on his arrival to the platform by Herbert Morrison, an old colleague on the L C C. Emil Davies made a few remarks to bring the schedule of specehes to an end.

A TONIC FROM BEECHAM

A contribution which had not been scheduled came at the end of the orchestral concert when Sir Thomas Beecham, ' the erstwhile Fabian ', made some lively remarks, to the entertainment of the audience, to the effect that his defection from the Society was because the Socialists had not built him an opera house and a concert hall. London was the only city in Europe, in the world, where you could not play music with decency and propriety. ' You go back and tell your Bevan that while he has got to build houses for ordinary people he mustn't forget to build them for extraordinary people like me '. We are glad to report that, nevertheless, Sir Thomas was afterwards seen talking on excellent terms with the Prime Minister. Further, when approached that same evening by H. D. Hughes, M P, of the Society's Executive, Sir Thomas agreed to address a meeting of the Arts and Amenities Group of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY AND NEW TOWNS

by Gilbert McAllister, M.P.

Mr Gilbert McAllister, Member of Parliament for Rutherglen (Lanarks.), was Secretary of the Town and Country Planning Association 1936–38 and is now Hon. Treasurer of the Association. He was editor of the journal 'Town and Country Planning' 1936–42 and is author, with Elizabeth McAllister, of 'Town and Country Planning: the Prelude to Post-War Reconstruction' (Faber & Faber) 1942; 'Homes, Towns and Countryside' (Batsford) 1946. He is a Director of E. Walter George, Ltd.

SITING WITHOUT PLANNING

It was in a Fabian Society pamphlet entitled *Transport, Town Development and Territorial Planning of Industry*—a title unwieldy enough even for a Fabian tract—that F. J. Osborn first pointed out in 1934 that the location of industry was the key to town and country planning. It was not, of course, an altogether original idea—few ideas are. It was the idea put forward by Prince Peter Kropotkin in *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, one of the books which influenced the early Socialist movement and which is still worth reading today. Individual industrialists, too, such as Lord Leverhulme and the Cadburys at Port Sunlight and at Bournville, had shown that a convenient relationship between factory and residence was important not merely from the point of view of what is now called welfare, but important from the point of view of efficient industrial production.

Osborn's thesis met with determined resistance. A score of professional economists rose to point out that the arbitrary location of industry was completely impossible, that it was against the laws of economics, that industries were located where they were located in a manner fore-ordained by destiny, by some vagary of climate, some incidence of raw materials, and so on. They developed a jargon of their own, not without convenience, in which expressions such as 'foot-loose' industries and 'tied' industries were the common coin of what passed for thought. Even when one pointed to simple examples to the contrary, they were not greatly impressed. If one drew attention to the fact that Wardour Street, for example, had been a centre for the small dress-making trade and that that trade had been almost completely ousted by the cinema industry, and that it could not have been possible that Wardour Street was the best site for the dressmaking trade and equally the best site for the cinema trade—or when one pointed to the transfer by Stewarts and Lloyds of their works from Mossend, Belshill, in Lanarkshire, to Corby in Northamptonshire, thus uprooting the entire population of two villages—they were far from admitting the argument. Industrialists themselves were scarcely less difficult to persuade that because a man was an expert in all the production processes connected with the manufacture of corsets, pickles, or motor-cars, he was not necessarily an expert in industrial location. In fact a man might spend his entire lifetime in the useful and efficient management of an industry and not have to decide more than once or twice in a lifetime where a new

factory should be located. And factories were located for the flimsiest reasons, for no better reason than that the managing director's wife wanted to be near the West End of London, to be within easy reach of theatre-land and the hat-shops of Mayfair. Even if this condemned a thousand workers and their families to life in an overgrown London suburb, with long tube journeys to another distant industrial suburb, it was a policy which apparently had the sanctity of economics and almost of the divine law behind it. The mass of Londoners were condemned to spend their working week in a daily treadmill existence, entering a hole in the ground every morning and leaving a place that they did not very much want to live in to emerge half an hour later from another hole in the ground to work in a place that they did not very much want to work in. Hence the North Circular Road and the Great West Road. Hence the soulless suburb and the industrial by-pass.

That was bad enough from the point of view of London; it was infinitely worse from the point of view of the rest of the country. To London there came the new industries that might have offered life and light and happiness to the people of South Wales, to the people of Scotland, to the people of Tyne-side and Durham. London, the ' great wen ' of Cobbett's day, the ' swollen elephantiasis ' of Lord Rosebery, had become the great octopus of the twentieth century, with its tentacles reaching out to the farthest corners of the land and pulling into its open maw the best elements of local leadership from all the provincial cities. There were other examples of industrial location no less devastating. There was the gigantic transformation of Oxford, intended as a university city, into the worst kind of industrial town, the town dependent on a single industry, so that if Lord Nuffield were to devote the remainder of his still gigantic capital to making good the damage that he has done to Oxford, his fortune would prove completely inadequate to the task.

WAR-TIME DEVELOPMENTS

It was against this background that the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population considered the evidence presented to it and declared, just as the war was starting, that London was a menace economically, socially and strategically to the rest of the country, and demanded a policy of de-centralisation of industry and population from London and the other overgrown cities, the creation of new towns, and the setting up of a central planning authority. Even then, however, the argument might have continued for the normal forty years had it not been for the impact of bombing. Faced with the onslaught of the blitz, the Board of Trade and industry did the natural thing: they spread their risks. Industry rapidly de-centralised, and units employing 20,000 people suddenly discovered that it was wiser and better to occupy 30 different factories employing 500 to 2,000 persons in the more remote parts of the west country and in other comparatively safe areas. There are in the United Kingdom only 70,000 industrial undertakings employing more than 50 persons. In two years the Board of Trade re-located 20,000 of these establishments, not in the vague sense that planners have always talked of, by which they would have said, ' You may not build in this part of the country, but you can choose your site anywhere else in the country,' but in the precise sense of saying to thousands of individual industrialists, ' You must go to this region, to that town in the region, to that street in the town, and to that building in the street.' If that could be done under the drive of war, not only with the cooperation but with the manifest goodwill of industry, it was clear that the whole silly theory that there was some mysterious economic law which decided through the instrument of some managing director where a factory should be located, had been blown sky high with the blast of the Luftwaffe's bombs.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY ACT

The stage was set, therefore, for the Distribution of Industry Act, 1945, introduced by Dr Hugh Dalton, the then President of the Board of Trade, who had given more study than most to this problem, and who believed implicitly in the great social advantages which would result from a policy of planned industrial location. Unfortunately it was a Coalition measure, and in the weaknesses of the Act one can see the dead hand of Toryism still formidably at work. It was in fact not a Distribution of Industry Bill, it was a Special Areas Bill. It was an Act designed to help those areas of high unemployment and great human misery which had been designated in turn Distressed Areas, Special Areas and now, more happily perhaps, Development Areas. But it was not an instrument of national planning. It was not an instrument whereby a great fundamental policy decision could be taken on such basic subjects as the future of the ports of Britain, the future of the coal industry having regard to the great possibilities of the scientific use of coal, the future of the iron and steel industry, or the future of agriculture. As far as agriculture was concerned, the Scott Report—although the weakest of the three major documents of planning, the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt Reports—had sketched a new approach to the problem of the decaying agricultural village and the small country town and it, too, embodied its recommendations for the de-centralisation of industry, and particularly those industries ancillary to agriculture, to the small towns and villages which ought to be at the very heart of our national life. The creation of a Ministry of Town and Country Planning carried the essential programme a stage further. All the land in Britain was brought under interim development control, the Minister of Town and Country Planning was invested with fairly large powers to stimulate and guide development in the way that it should go. But by any test it was not the central planning authority for which the Barlow Commission had asked. Industrial location still remained with the Board of Trade, housing still remained with the Ministry of Health, and planning remained as it had done from the inception of town and country planning in legislative form by John Burns in 1908, an affair of permission, restriction, prohibition, and not positive and three-dimensional.

THE NEW TOWNS ACT

This year, thanks very largely to the great energy, imagination and determination which Mr Lewis Silkin has brought to his office as Minister of Town and Country Planning, a New Towns Act has been put on the Statute Book. It has its weaknesses, which I need not go into here but which could have been avoided; but taken as a whole it represents the greatest legislative advance in town planning the world has ever seen. It gives the Minister, and the Secretary of State for Scotland, powers to set up State-controlled Corporations to develop a large number of new towns, towns which will provide for residence and for industry and will be, we hope, examples of fine site planning, fine domestic and civic architecture, models of the new environment which may very well be the most significant contribution of the twentieth century to human life and human happiness.

THE DEVELOPMENT AREAS

Before going on to deal with the weaknesses of the present arrangements, let me deal first of all with the enormous achievements of the Board of Trade within the limits of its present powers and opportunities.

I represent the constituency of Rutherglen, the oldest Royal Burgh in Scotland, standing close to but not engulfed in the overgrown city of Glasgow. Rutherglen is in the very heart of a Development Area, an area where, between

the wars, tens of thousands of families knew nothing but grim and unrelenting poverty, when the great steelworks stood idle, when the great derricks of the shipyards stood like spectral finger-posts against the grey sky of relief, when the coal-miners, whom we are now urging to work harder and harder, tightened their belts as they saw their womenfolk and their children grow hungrier, more ragged, more unkempt and more listless every day. There were feeble efforts to put things right. The Tory Government decided to spend seven million pounds on helping the Distressed Areas. The munificence of the Government was equalled by the generosity of a single industrialist, Lord Nuffield, who contributed for the same purpose exactly the same sum. From this came the trading estate movement and the Special Areas Commissioners set up three large trading estates, one in Glasgow at Hillington, one in Newcastle at Team Valley, and the third at Treforest in South Wales. There were a number of smaller industrial estates created under the same aegis. In themselves they were excellent but the whole scale of the attack was completely disproportionate to the problem to be solved. Nor did they make any effort to consider the more general implications of the policy they were pursuing, so that Hillington added to the agglomeration of Glasgow, as Team Valley added to the inconvenience of Newcastle and Gateshead. The trading estates were not created in relationship to new housing or in any way to the homes of the people who were to work there, and the whole frightful business of the long daily journey to and from work, with all its loss in time, money and health, continued.

When one contrasts the achievements of the Special Areas Commissioners in the period before the war, with the achievements of the Board of Trade under Sir Stafford Cripps since Labour took office, one cannot but be deeply impressed by the vigour, energy and success which has attended their efforts. Consider the Scottish Development Area—and I take that for convenience because I know it best, but what is true of the West of Scotland is also, and almost to the same degree, true of South Wales and Tyneside. In Scotland today there are 72,000 unemployed, a figure which is not taken with any complacency by Scots Labour M Ps. At the same time it is easily possible to exaggerate the significance of this degree of unemployment, since many of the people in that total are young women who entered industry during the war, who have now left industry and married and have no intention of returning. But the astonishing thing is that in fourteen months the Government, through its Development Area policy, has already made provision for the new employment of almost exactly that number of persons. The four pre-war trading estates, Hillington, Carfin, Larkhall and Chapelhall, already give employment to 13,201 men and women. No fewer than 138 new factories are now being built in Scotland while a further 120 new factories have been approved. These will give employment to an additional 37,000 persons. A further 97 factories are to be built or are being built in advance of the demand of specific tenants, and these, it is believed, will give employment to yet another 20,000 persons, a total of 70,201 jobs.

LONG-TERM POLICY

In face of this achievement it seems almost ungracious to criticise. Nevertheless, criticism must be made and those responsible must listen to it. What, then, are the points of criticism?

(1) All the Distressed Areas or Development Areas in Britain today are in fact the richest areas in the United Kingdom, the areas richest in raw material, namely coal. What is required for all of them is a policy for the scientific utilization of coal so that coal is not wasted by being burned in domestic hearths or in factory furnaces but is transformed from coal into gas, into electricity, and the by-products used to develop

a whole range of modern light industries, from the manufacture of plastics and fertilizers to the manufacture of aspirin and other fine chemicals. That is admittedly a long-term policy, but it is a policy which must be started because it is in that way that the Development Areas can build up an economy with industries indigenous to the Areas.

(2) The trading estates are being established without any due regard to the residence of the workers. If one takes, for example, the Newhouse estate in Lanarkshire, it is an example of casual siting of the worst kind. It is on the main Glasgow to Edinburgh road so that entrance to and egress from the estate can only be gained at the expense of disturbing the flow of traffic on the main highway and with a great deal of risk of accident. It is literally miles from anywhere and those who work there will have to travel considerable daily journeys from Airdrie, Motherwell, Wishaw and Shotts. If Newhouse had been planned as the industrial area of a new town, then there are many sites in Lanarkshire suitable for the purpose and only a little-co-ordination was necessary to achieve this desirable result.

(3) It is not yet clear what the policy of the Board of Trade is with regard to industries for the new towns to be set up under the New Towns Act, but it is not without significance that they are already directing industry away from one of the existing new towns, namely Welwyn Garden City. That is a policy that is not justifiable by any test. Nor does the Board of Trade have the power under the present Act to direct industry to those small towns not in Development Areas which are capable of expansion and which should be expanded.

It should not be impossible, indeed it should be easy, to co-ordinate trading estates, housing estates and the other amenities of a town—churches, shopping centre, hospitals, schools, etc.—into one coherent pattern. So far that result has not been achieved. And while one is grateful to Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr Lewis Silkin, Mr Joseph Westwood and other Ministries for what has been done, we eagerly await the real framework of a national policy integrated and workable.

PROGRESS IN INDIA

by T. C. Boyd

T. C. Boyd was in India from 1942 *till this year, with the exception of a short return trip to stand as a Labour candidate in the General Election. He acted as secretary to the Parliamentary Delegation which toured India last January and February.*

The change that has come over India's affairs this year is in some respects the greatest of all the achievements of the Labour Government to date. How easily we could have been at war with India by now. The mutinies of February and March were only checked with the help of Congress leaders in anticipation of the Cabinet Mission's visit. Before then trouble had only been postponed from month to month by the elections, by the promise of a constituent assembly thereafter, by the visit of a Parliamentary Delegation. The state of feeling was typified by the remark of a young friend of mine in Lahore (Punjab, the most 'loyal' province of the past) applauding the first news of the naval mutiny in Bombay: 'at last the fighting has begun; now we shall soon be free'.

Yet now the Central Assembly in Delhi sits without an Opposition, and a Government containing leaders of almost every section of Indian opinion presides over the affairs of the whole of India. Moreover, in the words of a Congress paper in Bombay,

> 'the League, in imitating Congress, has been drawn into the wider field of representing people outside the Muslim fold . . . the first step has at last been taken towards the shedding of communal politics . . . there is room for hope that when the parting of the ways comes, there will be two active political parties in India, thinking and acting on broad national lines instead of communal divisions and dissensions.'

That Indians can be more magnanimous than some of our English Congress Socialists was further illustrated when Nehru and Liaqat Ali were loudly and impartially cheered by all sections of the Assembly at the opening of its autumn session.

These things have not been achieved by accident. The decisive factor in averting war between Britain and India has been the decision announced by the Prime Minister on March 15th, and the Government's dauntless perseverance in implementation of that decision:

> 'India herself must choose what will be her future constitution; what will be her position in the world. I hope that the Indian people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that she will find great advantages in doing so . . . But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will . . . If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.'

Mr. Churchill is technically correct in his continual harping upon the difference between this policy and that of 1942. The Coalition Government at that time offered Dominion status, and pointed out that under the Statute of Westminster a Dominion can at any time secede from the Commonwealth.

This time there is no necessity for India ever to enter the Commonwealth unless she so chooses. (At present she is formally a part of the Empire, but not of the Commonwealth, while the Dominions belong to the latter, not the former, but the distinction between Commonwealth and Empire seems to be ignored by most people nowadays.) Taken at its face value the difference may seem a formality of procedure. But in the practical politics of India today it was the difference between peace and war. It is interesting to notice that some of Mr. Churchill's own party, those with more modern knowledge of India, have dissociated themselves from his criticism of the Government on this score.

THE HINDU-MUSLIM ISSUE

A main influence in preventing (if only by a narrow margin) the development of a war between Hindus and Muslims has been our Government's meticulous fairness between the Indian parties. The broadening freedom which now opens out to the whole of India might all too easily have been scarred and stunted from the start by the destruction and famine, the indelible hatreds and intolerance which a civil war would have left in its trail.

The Cabinet Mission's constitution-making proposals of May 16th were a masterly design. They comprise the most practical and workable compromise between Congress and Muslim League views which has yet been devised. They give the Pakistaners more in area but less in degree of Pakistan than the election verdicts entitled them to. They avoid communal partitions of Punjab and Bengal, each of which is a natural economic region and a real nation much more united by race and language, history and traditions than it need ever be divided by religious barriers. The proposals will also enable Pathans and Sindhis to be as independent as they themselves think feasible of both Punjabi and Bombay domination, thus allaying fears which have hitherto largely influenced the party political affiliations of both those small North-Western provinces.[1] It will also be possible for the six preponderantly Hindu provinces to form, if they wish, a highly centralized state containing a population as large as that of any other effective state in the world at the present time, and constituting the core of a still wider Union.

The alternating reactions to these proposals well illustrate their essential fairness and soundness. First Congress circles applauded and Leaguers were extremely dejected: then the League agreed to work the proposals, and Congress opinion veered away from them. Meanwhile the much less perfect plan of June 16th for an interim Government was announced. It rested on two undemocratic and unhelpful principles: (1) ratios of representation between religious communities instead of political parties; and (2) nomination by the Viceroy instead of by Party leaders. Congress could not but reject this, and only very reluctantly, and with a serious reservation, accepted the constitution-making proposals, to avert a purely League Government being formed. By this time all concerned were showing signs of fatigue; and the unexpected announcement that a government of officials would be formed was perhaps a mistake. The intensity and bitterness of Muslim disappointment, and of communal tension that would follow, may have been underestimated. Yet the Mission were by that time in a position from which there was no escape without embittering one or other of the major parties; and most non-Muslims will agree they chose the lesser evil. But the pill might have been less bitter if, like Bevin at Paris, they had simply claimed a pause to consider their next step.

[1] i.e., the League is regarded as anti-Bombay and is therefore popular among Sindhi and Punjabi Muslims. The Pathans regard the League as a Punjabi party and voted overwhelmingly for Congress; most of the League wins in the Frontier Province were from constituencies largely Punjabi in population.

The relevant clause of their statement of June 16th reads:

> In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.'

Interpretation whereof might be debated *ad infinitum*.

The League's subsequent withdrawal of their acceptance of the constitution-making proposals was more emotional than rational, but at least assisted the Congress to make up their minds on unequivocal acceptance and made possible the formation of a Congress Government. From then on it was so clearly in the interests of both parties as to be inevitable that a coalition would in due course be formed and that both parties would contrive to enter the Constituent Assembly when it meets. The interval of time before then will facilitate the process and have the great advantage of giving both parties some weeks' experience of working together in the Government before they tackle the thorny and arduous process of constitution-making.

Viewing events through partisan eyes (and we English are as much partisans in this mainly tripartite adjustment as are the Hindus and Muslims) it is not easy to understand the problems confronting the other parties sufficiently fully to appreciate their endeavours or to realise why they cannot always do as we should like. Not only our own Government, but India's leaders also, have shown the highest qualities of statemanship and have fully vindicated India's fitness for independent self-government. The way in which the new Coalition Cabinet is tackling the communal disorders is a fine example and augury.

CONSTITUTION-MAKING

The Constituent Assembly will be by a long chalk the most truly representative body of Indians that has yet met. It is unlikely that universal suffrage would produce at present substantially different party strengths. The 'untouchable' representation is, however, defective, being based on the double system of elections laid down in the Poona Pact. A table of representation will be found on the next page.

All except four of the Muslim representatives of the Provinces in the Constituent Assembly will be members of the Muslim League. Unless there are further changes of allegiance, the League will just have a majority in each of the Pakistan Sections of the Constituent Assembly.

> 'These sections shall proceed to settle provincial constitutions for the provinces included in each section and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those provinces and if so with what provincial subjects the group should deal.'[1]

If, however, majorities in these sections were to form groups or draw up group constitutions, such as any of the Provinces concerned might object to, this attempt would be nullified by the Province opting out of the Group later on. The whole constitution-making procedure (as indeed most of the subsequent steps taken by our Government) has been designed with great skill to assist and encourage the parties to arrive at agreed decisions on the most difficult questions. Every time such agreement is reached India passes another milestone towards that full freedom of mutual toleration, understanding and cooperation in constructive development which has so long been the dream of her best sons and daughters.

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[1] From sub-paragraph 18 (v) of the Cabinet Mission's State Paper.

PROVINCIAL REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Section of Constituent Assembly	*Province*	*Congress & nominees of Congress*	*Muslim League*	*Others*	*Total*
'A'	Madras	45	4	0	49
	Bombay	19	2	0	21
	U.P.	45	7	3	55
	Bihar	28	5	3	36
	C.P.	16	1	0	17
	Orissa	8	0	1	9
	Delhi, Coorg and Ajmer-Merwara	3	0	0	3
	Total	164	19	7[1]	190
'B'	Punjab	6	15	7	28
	N.W.F.P.	2	1	0	3
	Sind	1	3	0	4
	Baluchistan	0	0	1	1
	Total	9	19	8[2]	36
'C'	Bengal	25	33[3]	2[4]	60
	Assam	7	3	0	10
	Total	32	36[3]	2[4]	70
Total all Provinces		205	74	17	296

SOCIAL PROGRESS

Already both central and provincial Ministries are busy with numerous urgent social and economic tasks. Some of these raise questions of communal controversy, such as whether land or industries should be nationalised first (this has come up in U P). But most of the current problems of government will tend to bring into prominence differences of opinion based on economic rather than communal lines. An interesting example is the labour legislation recently passed in Bombay. One union only, the largest, will be recognised in each industry in any area; joint negotiating machinery is established; and Government acquires power to order compulsory arbitration and to punish instigators of 'illegal strikes'. Another is the Madras Government's restriction of textile mill capacity to encourage handspinning, which raises the whole question of industrialisation versus Gandhian economy, a controversy in which Muslims, having no share in industry, may be inclined to side with Gandhi.

Some prophets, including Congressmen, have predicted that the achievement of independence would be speedily followed by the break-up of the Congress Party into its conservative and socialist wings. I doubt whether such a

[1] 3 landholders, 2 commercial and 2 Backward Tribes.
[2] 4 Sikhs and 3 Unionists (1 Muslim, 1 Caste Hindu, 1 Scheduled Caste).
[3] Including Mr Fazlul Huq who joined the Muslim League after being elected.
[4] Dr Ambedkar and one Communist.

divide is either likely or desirable in the next few years. The approach of independence has already divided the nationalist movement (which used to be roughly coextensive with Congress) into its communal elements, Muslims, Sikhs, Untouchables, Caste Hindus; and two other small parties the Communists and Radical Democrats have parted company with Congress in recent years.

On the other hand two new parties have recently been formed within Congress. Both sound interesting: 'the All-India Party of Revolutionary Congressmen' '*believes in the social philosophy of Mr. Gandhi*' as the true way to a classless society and aims '*to make Congress a perfectly fit instrument for a successful revolution, wherein British power must be completely ousted from India, after which power should utimately pass into the hands of the peasants, workers and others of the toiling masses*'. The 'Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party' '*is wedded to the interest and cause of the peasants, workers and such other sections of the people as are handicapped in their self-expression under the weight of capitalist, feudal and imperialist exploitation. The Party will fight for the achievement of independence and the introduction of social order, wherein there shall be no exploitation of man by man, and the means of production and exchange will be held in common ownership*'.

Universal suffrage will certainly improve the prospects of the radical elements both within and outside the major parties. And often the election of a Congress or League candidate will depend as much on his economic and social policies as upon his party 'ticket'. Similar considerations may soon lead the left-inclined to vote for the present oppositions, and the conservative and cautious to vote for the present Governments, all party irrespective of religious community, in both Sind and Punjab. (In Sind an old-time Texan type of government of the official Muslim League is just going to the polls against a coalition of good democrats including Congress and a local 'Progressive Muslim League'. In Punjab a uniformly conservative coalition government of Congress, Sikhs and Unionists faces a very mixed League Opposition of which the ablest leaders are Marxists and the others mostly derelict landowners with an odd liberal or two). Indian party politics may for some years resemble more the American pattern than that of Britain.

INDIA IN THE WORLD

If India can manage to steer successfully through the next few years, she looks like emerging the most influential Asiatic country. Already a Conference of Asiatic Nations is scheduled to be held in Delhi next year. Familiar with both eastern and western ways India would be well placed for interpreting each to the other. In particular, if invited and willing, she could be of great help to us in our relations with other eastern countries. What forms of help would be acceptable from us? The full repayment of the sterling balances is no more than a clear obligation: early release of an instalment would, however, have some practical meaning. We can support Indian demands for foodgrains, though with how much effect I don't know. Could we give some priority to Indian orders for machinery, medical supplies and other equipment? The security, peace and progress of the Middle East would seem to be a common interest we have with India. There may be considerable scope for mutual consultation and cooperation in that region. India has perhaps more right than America to participate in Palestinian peace-making and her influence there might be at least as helpful. An influential India cannot but aid, encourage and perhaps stimulate, enlightened colonial policies and the solution of other colour questions. At any rate let us be on the lookout for the possibilities.

TRADE UNION FINANCE

by N. Barou, Ph.D. (Econ.), London

DR BAROU is a member of the Society's Executive Committee and a person of wide experience in social and political work as well as in business. The most recent of his published works is 'Cooperation in the Soviet Union', written for the Society and published by Gollancz.

Finance is the backbone of Trade Union activities and organisation, as it is with other institutions, and an examination of the financial position of Trade Unions throws interesting light on their activities. I am grateful to the Registrar General of Friendly Societies for kindness in making available the figures which are the basis of this article.

1 INCOME

The following table shows the total income and expenditure of registered unions which account for 85 per cent. of the total Trade Union membership in this country.

	Number of Unions	*Number of Members*	*INCOME FROM*		*TOTAL INCOME*	*TOTAL EXPENDITURE*
			Members	*Other Sources*		
			£	£	£	£
1938	521	4,920,837	8,915,619	859,315	9,774,934	7,715,310
1939	522	5,072,977	9,031,030	863,138	9,894,168	7,719,031
1940	513	5,416,519	9,200,672	908,755	10,109,427	7,874,851
1941	516	5,980,851	9,486,651	948,901	10,435,552	7,593,912
1942	522	6,584,259	10,516,218	1,122,337	11,638,555	7,808,401
1943	520	6,896,317	11,197,635	1,169,564	12,367,199	8,525,983
1944	520	6,831,001	11,491,262	1,323,663	12,814,925	8,957,550

This table shows that members' contributions account for more than 90 per cent. of the total income of these unions. The other sources include some subventions from different Ministries to cover payment of insurance benefits. The amount of the contributions paid by the individual members of a union is clearly influenced by the level of their wages and the continuity of their employment. Unions composed of unskilled and semi-skilled workers charge only a few pence a week and the rates of contribution are in some cases reduced for women and juveniles. On the other hand the Unions with skilled craftsmen have much higher rates, usually not less than 1/– a week, and in some cases much more. During the years 1938 to 1944 the average contribution of all members of the Unions in question was pretty stable at a rate between 7½d and 8d a week. It must be emphasised that these are average figures.

An important factor which, in the case of some unions, raises the rate of contributions is their activities of the Friendly Society kind. Many workers

still look upon their unions more as insurance and social service associations than as fighting organisations. Those unions which undertake to make payments not only to cover strikes, lockouts and legal aid, but also sickness, accident, superannuation, funerals, travelling and emigration, must obviously charge a much higher rate. Some unions collect voluntary contributions in addition to basic rates, to cover special benefits, if required. Others impose levies on their membership for those purposes.

It would be extremely difficult to put Trade Union rates of contribution and benefits on a strict actuarial basis because of the impossibility of foretelling with any degree of accuracy what outlay some items, such as strike and lockout benefits, will involve. As a result, there can be no doubt, as G. D. H. Cole remarked as far back as 1918, that some unions have in the past promised benefits at a rate considerably higher than would appear to be justified by their rates of contribution.

II EXPENDITURE

Trade Union expenditure can in general be classified under the following headings:

(*a*) Dispute benefits
(*b*) Other forms of benefit
(*c*) Expenditure from political funds
(*d*) Working expenses.

The following table shows expenditure under each of these heads as a percentage of total expenditure during recent years.

Year	*Dispute Benefit*	*All other benefit*	*From political fund*	*Working expenses*	*Other outgoings*	*Total*
1938	2·0	45·0	1·5	44·4	7·1	100
1939	2·1	44·5	1·5	45·9	6·0	100
1940	0·8	46·0	1·3	45·7	6·2	100
1941	0·2	40·0	1·5	51·2	7·1	100
1942	0·2	37·0	1·5	54·1	7·2	100
1943	0·2	36·2	1·4	54·7	7·5	100
1944	0·3	35·5	1·5	55·3	7·3	100

Expenditure on strike pay is seen to have dwindled to a merely nominal figure, since most of the strikes which took place during this period (the larger part of which falls within the war years) were unofficial and therefore involved the unions in no expense. This greatly reduced expenditure on account of disputes has been characteristic of the last two decades, i.e., since the lack of success of the General Strike.

This is not characteristic of the years following the First World War, when the many strikes which occurred made heavy demands on union resources. The climax was reached in 1926, the year of the General Strike, when the average dispute benefit per member was £1 6s 8d, only 20 per cent. lower than the average membership contribution during the same year. After 1926, the highest annual dispute benefit paid was an average per member of 2/1 in 1929—only a fraction of the total outlay—and in most other years it was a good deal less. The capacity of unions to back large-scale and prolonged disputes obviously depends to a large extent on the size of the contributions which they receive during normal periods, and trade union policy towards disputes must largely be conditioned by the resources available viewed in relation to the expected scope and duration of any industrial struggle.

As regards the Political Fund, in most of the years following 1918 the annual contribution per member to this fund was only about 6d. In the early twenties, when comparatively large numbers of Trade Union members paid the political levy, the average annual contribution occasionally rose as high as 1/1, but after 1926 it was never more than 11d. The expenditure from the political fund during 1938–44 amounted to an average of only 5d a year per registered member, but it must be remembered that it was only 35 per cent. of the total trade union membership that were paying political levies.

More than half the total expenditure listed above consisted of ' working expenses ' and ' other outgoings '. This is not surprising since the very existence of the trade union movement depends on large-scale organisational work. Making national collective agreements, paying national organisers, holding delegate conferences and ballots, etc., all costs a good deal of money. So does publicity and propaganda, which is essential to an efficient Trade Union organisation. The tendency towards increased expenditure under these heads has been evident since the end of the First World War. During the years 1918–20 the amount per member going to working expenses rose to about double the 1918 rate and then, for the long period 1920–38, remained fairly stable at between 3½d and 4½d a week. The ' outgoings ', however, shot up even more sharply compared with 1918 figures, so that at the outbreak of the 1939 war ' working expenses ' were about half of all trade union outlay. During the Second World War ' other outgoings ' were stable, but ' working expenses ' have increased considerably.

Once again, therefore, as in 1918, ' working expenses ' are now well over 50 per cent. of the total.

The finances of the Trade Union movement were severely strained by the special expenses of the ' fighting years ' (1919–26) and the period of trade depression crisis (1930–35). Nevertheless, in later years, in spite of the rather low membership contribution, the income of the unions has been well above their outlay, and this has enabled them to increase their funds and has put them in a stronger financial position to prepare for the tasks ahead.

III PROSPECTS

The accumulated Trade Union funds in Great Britain over the period 1890 to 1938 show an average amount per member as follows :—

1890	£2 2s
1900	£3 2s
1910	£3 10s
1920	£2 6s
1930	£3 2s
1938	£4 2s

The increase in accumulated funds per head of £2 0s 0d between 1890 and 1944 must, of course, be offset by the change during that period in the cost of living index. Figures recently published by Mr Halpern for the six largest unions in the country show that their average funds per head increased from £4 15s 0d in 1938 to £5 8s 0d in 1942. As regards total accumulated funds, the excess of income over expenditure, shown in the table quoted, indicates that these have increased during the years 1938–44 by over £20,000,000.

The problems with which the Unions will have to deal out of these resources in the coming years are in many cases different from the problems of the past. To begin with, the new National Insurance legislation means handing over to State bodies the larger part of Benefit and Friendly Society activities that have in the past formed the great part of the work of many unions. Among the consequences will be a reduction in members' subscriptions for these purposes, and a reduction of administrative work on the benefits side with a

corresponding release of staff from this work. Obviously an enormous amount of difficult actuarial work and organisational adjustment is involved.

Readjustment will also be needed to the extent to which the unions participate in the country's economic planning. A planned economy with nationalised and regulated industries will require the unions to strengthen their central apparatus and further to develop their research and planning organisation. The growth in the unions' working expenditure during the last twenty years has been in part due to an increase in the central and district machinery of the large national unions. The research and planning machinery as well as the intensified education programme which are urgently called for all mean that more money will be needed.

This raises the question of where this money is to come from. This increase is most likely to come from an increase in membership subscriptions. These still stand at an average of 8d per head a week, but may in some cases be reduced after the transfer of insurance activities to the State. Twopence more a week from each member might provide the funds required.

Further, now that the Trades Disputes Act of 1927 has been repealed, more unions can affiliate to the T U C. Incidentally this should place much larger funds at the Labour Party's disposal, through the political levy. We should now see a radical change from the position which obtained in 1944 when, of the Trade Unionists affiliated to the T U C, nearly 4 millions left the remaining 2·3 millions to pay the political levy towards the Labour Party's funds. The scope for political education among these Trade Unionists is great and obvious. Clearly what is called for is a combined effort in the way of education and membership campaigns, which will be of incalculable value to the Labour Movement in its industrial, political and co-operative aspects alike. With its increased income from the political levy the Labour Party is likely to be in a strong position to particpiate in such a drive through the the National Council of Labour, and through its component organisations.

DR. CAROLINE MAULE:

An Appreciation

The death of Dr Caroline Maule deprives the Society of one of its most devoted members. Of American birth, and trained in medicine in the University of California, she did research work in the philosophy of nutrition for some years in New York. Having married an Englishman in the Egyptian civil service, she lived in Cairo until the end of the first world war. In 1919, she settled in London and joined the Fabian Society and the Labour Party. She took a full share in their activities, especially in speaking to women's sections on problems concerned with health and hygiene. In 1934, she was elected to the Lambeth Borough Council on which she served for some years, devoting herself particularly to Health and Maternity questions. During the war she gave all her energies to the work of the Social Survey. She was a woman of extraordinary generosity, who was devoted not only to the movement generally, but to anyone she encountered who was in need of assistance. Her interests were wide, and she was a propagandist of tireless zeal and very considerable capacity. She had few wants of her own, and most of her income was freely offered to persons and to causes in which she was interested. She will live long in the memory of her friends as one who lived the socialism she preached with a real sense of proud dedication.

FRIDA LASKI

IN AND AROUND NUMBER ELEVEN

LOCAL SOCIETIES AND SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE

REGIONAL FABIAN COMMITTEES

We are glad to report continuous development in the work of Regional Committees of Local Fabian Societies. (A Regional Committee of the Fabian Society is co-terminous with the regional organizations of the Labour Party and is composed of delegates from Local Societies within its area. Where it is not possible to form a complete Regional Committee, representatives from a smaller number of Societies form a Fabian Area Committee.)

Regional Committees are well established in Scotland, Wales, Yorkshire, Northern England and West Midlands. A successful conference, which led to the formation of a North-West Regional Committee, was held in Manchester on 14th September, when the speakers were Arthur Skeffington, M P, Geoffrey Wilson and Prof P. M. S. Blackett. Representatives of eleven Societies were present. A further meeting was held on October 5th, when officers were appointed, and the following proposals made for future work :—

(*a*) preparation of a panel of Fabian Speakers for the use of Local Societies in the Region.
(*b*) a list of available National Speakers with free dates for a tour of the Region.
(*c*) the securing of a Fabian column in *The Northern Voice*.
(*d*) the possibility of Research Work.
(*e*) the circulation of notes on current topics to Local Societies in the Region.

SPECIAL SERIES OF CONFERENCES ON POLITICS AND PROPAGANDA

It will be recalled that the Local Societies Committee has organised, in the past, a series of Conferences designed to assist members of Local Societies to play a more effective part in the Movement. These Conferences were in the main related to specific tasks confronting the Labour Party at the time, e.g., the General Election, the Municipal Contests, etc. Other conferences have been devoted to the consideration of the development of the Fabian Society.

With the assistance of the Regional Committees we hope to organise a further useful series during the autumn and spring on the theme of ' Politics and Propaganda.' One activity which the Movement must undertake with ever-increasing efficiency is that of publicising the Government's achievements, rebutting misrepresentation, discussing the real nature of present problems, and stimulating thought about the future programme of the Party.

Several Regions are making arrangements for conferences on this subject, and we hope that societies in districts not covered by regional or area organisations will consider the possibility of arranging a special meeting.

REPORTS FROM SOCIETIES :

We print the following reports from some of our Societies to give an idea of the useful work being done throughout the country.

Brighton and Hove : We should like to congratulate this Society on their enterprise in starting a Centre of cultural and political acitivy at their new premises in the centre of the town. It is hoped to provide accommodation

for the Unity Theatre, the Sussex Arts Club and some of the Trade Unions, while the Society will hold regular lectures, dances, theatrical shows and cinema shows. The Society is appointing a Warden for the centre.

Birmingham arranged a Conference on " Wages Policy " with Prof. T. Balogh and Mr Tom Wylie (District Organiser of the T G W U) as speakers. Invitations were sent to Trade Unionists, L P members, Co-operators and others, inviting them to send delegates.

Central London celebrated the first Anniversary of Labour's parliamentary victory with a Dance, which was attended by the Rt Hon A. V. Alexander, the Rt Hon Jim Griffiths, Ian Mikardo and other prominent leaders. A full programme for the autumn included a week-end Conference at Surrey Crest at the end of September when Economic Planning was the subject. This links up with a projected series of lectures on different aspects of the problem of securing full Industrial Efficiency. An Arts Group has now been formed to consider the impact of Socialism on Art.

Dundee has sent particulars of a very full autumn programme. The syllabus has been sent to all members of the Local Trades and Labour Council, to all Labour Town Councillors, Secretaries of Ward Committee, T U officials. Such matters as Housing, Education and Industry are to be dealt with on both a national and local basis. With one exception, each Ward Committee has welcomed the visit of a representative to speak on the work of the Society. John Strachey, M P, and Tom Cock, M P, have become Joint Presidents of the Society.

Greenock reports an interesting series of fortnightly meetings, which are open to the public. Two Fabian Councillors were entrusted by the D L P with the task of drawing up the Party's Election programme. The Society's Chairman is now D L P Financial Secretary.

Kingston-on-Thames is holding a debate on " The Closed Shop ". The speakers will be J. Boyd Carpenter (Tory M P for Kingston) and Councillor Gordon Schaffer (Kingston Labour Councillor).

Nottingham. Arrangements were made for a 2-session conference on 26th October on the Democratic Future of the British Empire. Geoffrey de Freitas, M P, Under Secretary for Air, acted as Chairman for one session, and A. G. Bottomley, M P, Under Secretary for the Dominions, and F. W. Skinnard, M P, were the principal speakers.

Wolverhampton is working on a Health Survey, which it is hoped will be completed early in the New Year. The local B M A division are willing to help in the later stages by reading and criticism, and the local Press have written an article on the undertaking.

South-Wales Region reports that a most successful week-end School on ' The Economic and Social Development of South Wales ' was held at Glan-y-Mor, Barry, in October. The speakers were Mr Ness Edwards, M P, who spoke on ' The Economic Development of South Wales ', Mr T. Alwyn Lloyd, F R I B A, J P, who spoke on ' Town and Country Planning in South Wales ' ; and Mr Bosworth Monck, who spoke on ' Incentives in Industry '. A special session was held on ' Foreign Affairs ' at which the speaker was Mr Bosworth Monck.

Cardiff reports that in preparing the answers to the Films Questionnaire for the parent Society, they were invited to meet the Manager of a Cinema which runs a Children's Film Club. As a result, the Society has set up a Committee representing all the Teachers' Organizations, the Free Church Council, the Social Services Council and other bodies, in order to study the subject further and possibly to urge the formation of more Cinema Clubs.

HOME RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

The Society has never had a fuller programme of activities. The last couple of months have included the Jubilee Rally in the Albert Hall, the first four of the Autumn lectures, and an important delegate conference on home policy. There will be a New Year School, with all sessions allotted to the subject of Incentives in Industry. Early in the New Year a conference on the Universities will be held in conjunction with the University of London Labour Party.

This question of the Universities is now, of course, of more than usual interest and importance, since the universities are swollen beyond former dimensions, mainly with ex-service students, and are still unable to cope with the increased demand put on them. The Society's Education Committee has put work in hand to formulate long-term policy proposals for the universities. Another piece of work recently initiated by the Education Committee is an analysis of development plans for secondary schools prepared by Local Education Authorities.

In output of pamphlets, again, the Society is at present more prolific than ever before. Even this output could easily be increased, without any sacrifice of quality, but for difficulties of finance and printing, and the limits imposed by smallness of staff. As it is, the battle to produce pamphlets on time becomes monthly more hectic. Of recent publications, Professor Blackett's stimulating and controversial *The Atom and The Charter* (6d) has sold quickly, and Margaret Stewart's *Taking Work to the Workers* (1/–) made an up-to-date contribution to discussion of the development areas, now much in prominence.

Socialist Economic Planning[1] (6d) by Christopher Mayhew, M P (whom we should like to congratulate on joining the Government) is the first of a series of discussion pamphlets on ' Socialism Today and Tomorrow.' These pamphlets will fill a definite gap in providing brief and clearly written works on fundamental subjects. The authors of other pamphlets soon to appear in this series are Lord Lindsay, H. D. Hughes, M P, Michael Young and J. B. Jeffreys. Another extremely useful publication will be *Facts for Socialists*, of which a revised and up-to-date edition will appear shortly.

Co-operation in the Soviet Union, written for the Society by Dr Barou, has recently been published by Gollancz (6/–). The author can already claim the fulfilment of a prophecy made in this book, that the Russians would have to re-introduce co-operative trading in towns, which, according to *Soviet News*, has since been decided upon. The references in Dr Barou's book to Soviet methods of taxation were referred to, as being of considerable interest, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a recent Fabian autumn lecture.

We welcome the appearance of *Labour Forum*, a quarterly review published by the Labour Party. It is attractively presented, and the first issue includes an interesting message from Bernard Shaw and a vigorous article by Ian Mikardo. The article on Party Education by Patrick Gordon-Walker will no doubt give rise to some controversy, though no one will quarrel with his plea for further political education. But we note, more in surprise than in anger, his failure to make any mention of the work of this kind that has been and is being done by the Fabian Society.

It is perhaps as well to mention that the note which appears in all Fabian pamphlets, to the effect that the publication represents the view of an individual and not of the Society collectively, is more than a perfunctory statement. We have recently been informed that one particular pamphlet, and also one particular article in a recent *Quarterly*, containing views with which the Fabian Society should not identify itself. The Fabian Society as such does

[1] With an introduction by the Lord President, the Rt Hon Herbert Morrison, M P.

not identify itself with these views. They are published because they are thought of sufficient interest, and sufficiently well thought out, to be at least worthy of consideration by people in the Socialist movement.

WOMEN'S GROUP

Two Discussion Meetings have been held by the Group this quarter at the time of going to Press. At one, Miss Elizabeth Pepperell spoke on *The Scope of Personnel Management in Modern Industry*; at the other, Miss P. B. Manton, recently an U N R R A Welfare Officer in Germany, spoke on *Displaced Persons in Germany.*

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU

DELEGATION TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Among the large number of delegations from this country which made visits overseas during the summer, was one from the Society. Six representatives of the Society, John Parker, M P, James Callaghan, M P, Michael Young, Carol Johnson, Sheila Grant Duff, and H. D. Hughes, M P, who acted as Secretary of the group, visited Czechoslovakia in October. Their programme was full and varied, and included a long interview with President Benes. The members of the delegation will produce a combined work covering different aspects of developments in Czechoslovakia since the liberation. However, it is not premature to say that they were favourably impressed with a good deal of what they saw in a country that has effected many social and economic changes in the past year or so.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

It has for a long time been one of the functions of the International Bureau to provide a point of contact for foreign socialists visiting this country, a function which we continue to perform along with the International Department of the Labour Party. And so a Fabian reception was held in November in London for delegates from abroad who had attended the Labour Party's International Socialist Conference at Clacton. Lord Faringdon received the guests and welcomed them on behalf of the Society. M. de Bronckere, the leader of the Belgian delegation, replied on behalf of the guests.

NOTES

The post of Secretary to the International Bureau, which has been vacant since Mildred Bamford left in July, has now been filled by the appointment of Anne Whyte, who recently returned to this country after working in Germany for some time. Anne Roy is no longer working as Research Secretary of the Bureau, but, like Mildred Bamford, will continue to assist the Bureau in a voluntary capacity.

Tomorrow's Food, written for the Bureau by Margaret Digby (1/–), appeared in October and has had a very good reception by the Press. A December publication of the Bureau is *Jugoslavia Rebuilds* (1/–) by Doreen Warriner.

COLONIAL BUREAU

MR CREECH JONES

The appointment of Arthur Creech Jones as Secretary of State for the Colonies has been received with great pleasure by the Colonial Bureau, of which he was Chairman for five years until the Labour Government took office. Mr Creech Jones has agreed to address a public meeting to be held

by the Bureau at the Conway Hall on December 14th at 2.30 p.m. He will talk on *The Labour Government and the Colonies*, and use this occasion for making one of his first public pronouncements as Secretary of State.

SUGGESTIONS TO THE COLONIAL OFFICE

The Bureau has sent a memorandum to the Colonial Office pointing to the need for some special act or gesture to create a closer link of confidence between the Labour Government and the colonial peoples. A number of concrete proposals were put forward including the calling of a large Colonial Conference in London ; the formation of consultative assemblies representative of the people, to discuss any proposed constitutional reforms ; the appointment of politically progressive men as colonial Governors, with special consideration for the appointment of an African or West Indian Governor; and a review of the publicity arrangements of the Colonial Office. The Colonial Secretary has been asked to receive a deputation to discuss these matters.

THE NEW PLANS FOR CYPRUS

Plans for a new constitution, for the repeal of repressive legislation, and for the return of political exiles have been announced by the Colonial Office. At the same time 18 trade unionists who were detained for political agitation have been released as a special act of clemency. Readers of *Fabian Quarterly* may remember a report in the September issue that the Bureau had written to the Colonial Office asking for certain steps to be taken regarding Cyprus. The measures now announced are in close conformity with the points brought forward in that memorandum. The Bureau was particularly pleased at the news of the release of the imprisoned trade unionists, as it had been very interested in getting this matter raised by M Ps at question time in the House.

FLOGGING IN TRINIDAD

The re-imposition of flogging in Trinidad earlier in the year aroused strong criticism of the Labour Government. The Bureau took the opportunity of Mr Creech Jones' new appointment to approach him again with the request that flogging be abolished in Trinidad, as it has now been in most of Africa.

APPOINTMENTS

Among those connected with the Society's colonial work who have recently received appointments to Colonial Office committees or to the Colonies are Sir Drummond Shiels, who has been chosen as one of the members of the new Colonial Economic Development Council ; Lord Winster, who is going to Cyprus as Governor; and Rita Hinden who has been invited to join the reorganised Labour Advisory Committee. Sir Drummond Shiels has been a member of the Bureau's Advisory Committee and one of its most loyal supporters since its inception. Lord Winster was Chairman of the Bureau's Co-operation Committee, which produced the book *Co-operation in the Colonies*, and Rita Hinden is Secretary of the Bureau.

VISITS TO THE WEST INDIES

Two members of the Bureau Committee have been touring different parts of the West Indies. Mr C. W. Greenidge has been on an extended tour of the Caribbean, during which he attended a labour conference in British Guiana, as representative of the Bureau. Mr F. Skinnard, M P, has concentrated his visit on Jamaica, where he spent seven weeks exploring every nook and cranny of the island.

PUBLICATIONS

Three publications have appeared in the last quarter. *Socialists and the Empire* by Rita Hinden, which is a summary of five years' work of the Bureau, has had a very good sale and stocks are already almost exhausted. The first of the new Controversy Series, *Domination or Co-operation?* has also appeared. It is a report of a conference held by the Bureau last April and is now on sale. The third publication is a research pamphlet, *The New Malaya* by E. E. Dodd. This is an anlysis of the plans for unifying the Malay States on the basis of common citizenship and democratic government.

PARLIAMENTARY WORK

The Bureau continues to be extremely active in its contacts with Members of Parliament and in acting as a link between the many correspondents it has in the Colonies, and the Colonial Group of the Parliamentary Labour Party in the House of Commons. There is hardly a Colony whose problems have not been brought to the notice of the House in this way and the Bureau continues to be able to perform a unique service in this particular respect. This work is greatly encouraged by the exceptionally friendly collaboration of Members of Parliament interested in these problems.

BOOK REVIEWS

MISSION OF THE UNIVERSITY By Jose Ortega y Gasset (Kegan Paul 7/6)

In 1930 Senor Gasset gave three lectures to the students of Madrid University. They are now printed, together with an introduction on the life and ideas of the author, by Mr. Lee Nostand, an American who is concerned, as was Senor Gasset, with University education today.

We in England are now engaged in considering our University problem, although at the moment it is the expansion of opportunity and the production of a sufficient number of university graduates that are getting most attention. We have not yet asked ourselves ' What is the function of the University in the modern world ? ' although one might have supposed that that question should be answered before the number of university graduates is increased. When, however, the extra buildings and teachers have been found, and the extra students selected, we shall no longer be able to evade the fundamental issue—what is the mission of the University and how should it fulfil it ?

Today, the author says, the University does two things, it trains people to earn their living and it carries out research : two quite different tasks and not necessarily related. In addition, a student is generally required to take some general courses in philosophy or history in order to acquire something called ' general culture ', some ornamental knowledge, which has no relation to his professional education or research. This is a survival from mediæval times. Then the University, which did not itself carry out research, and was little concerned with the professions, taught the system of ideas concerning the world and humanity which the man of that time possessed, and it became the efficient guide of his existence.

The essence of culture has not altered. It is ' the vital system of ideas of a period by which each age lives '. Although nowadays the content of culture comes largely from science, it is not science—by which term Gasset means research—but it is what enables a man to find his way through life and to give meaning to his existence.

The University today should teach this culture as well as train for the professions, for it is only if those who receive higher education understand the times in which they live, not past periods, that this world can progress. The man who does not possess the concept of physics (not the science of physics proper, but the vital idea of the world which it has created), the concepts afforded by history, biology and schemes of speculative philosophy, is not an educated man.

In order to carry out this teaching a new synthesis is required to enable us to cope with the immense accumulated mass of knowledge. Much that is in the curriculum should be cut out, and the teaching adapted to what the ordinary student can learn, not what is theoretically considered desirable that he should learn. Much research is necessary, for nothing exists for university teaching similar to that of method of teaching in schools. The Universitiy in fact, should exist primarily for the students, and not for the Professors—hitherto no distinction has been made between the student who is going to teach science or practice as a doctor and the rare one who is going to be a ' researcher ', but just as the professor who is best at research is not always the best teacher, so the students need different treatment. Scientific research should, however, be carried on in close association with the University, as its spirit should inspire all university teaching ; but the functions of research institutes and of university teaching should be differentiated.

These ideas boldly challenge the view commonly held in this country, that the primary duty of the University is research. About the need for a new synthesis of today's accumulation of knowledge in the form in which it can be conveyed to the student, there will be little disagreement, for the specialisation of honours degrees causes much concern, outside, if not within, the

University. That the University should regain its spiritual leadership by the dissemination of culture, sets a worthy aim for our present concern with details of finance and administration.

S. D. S.

BEVIN By Trevor Evans (Allen & Unwin 10/6)

Now that the balance of power is passing from owners of capital to owners of labour, it is useful to be reminded of the arrogance of the former, right up to recent years, and this the book under notice does. Perhaps too much space is devoted to the subject's childhood, but it is an interesting account of the rise of the most outstanding personality in the Trade Union world, who has now surely the most thankless task it is possible to imagine.

A. E. D.

THE TRUTH ABOUT PUBLISHING By Sir Stanley Unwin (Allen & Unwin 8/6)

A new and entirely revised edition of a work which first appeared twenty years ago. Books revealing the secrets of trades and professions which are considered particularly interesting in themselves always have a wide appeal—witness the great popularity in the ' leaves from a surgeon's case-book ' type of literature. Publishers as a class are more reticent than doctors and there are few books to compare with Sir Stanley Unwin's—who probably knows more about publishing than anyone in England. It is full of interest and information for everyone who has any connection with books—in the way of business, education or pleasure. The faintly acid style in which it is written does not make it any less readable.

R. B.

PRACTICAL PRINTING AND BINDING Ed. H. Whetton (Odhams Press 446 pp. 1/6)

Covers comprehensively the whole gamut of printing and production, but with much more interest for the technician than the amateurish editor. Has a series of very good reproductions and photographs. The Editor in the foreword, writes: ' will prove to be of great value to those connected with the trade '. I agree.

R. D.

GRIERSON ON DOCUMENTARY Edited by Forsyth Hardy (Collins 16/–)

This collection of Grierson's writing comes out at a most appropriate time. Documentary film-making has over 15 years' hard work behind it. The result is not only several thousand films and a movement that has spread well beyond this country, but also a particular approach to the present problems of society. Grierson expounds in lively style the part the film can play in presenting in vivid and dramatic form the countless issues which require to be widely understood. What he has to say is of importance to those whose work is with the film, to educationists, and particularly those who are responsible for official information services.

S. R.

THE HUMANITIES AND THE COMMON MAN By Norman Foerster (University of North Carolina Press Oxford University Press $1.50 9/6)

The expansion of American universities prompts Mr Foerster to restate humanism's principle claims as a basis for education. The sciences teach us how to do things, not whether to do them. Mr Foerster urges that only familiarity with the best in human history will clarify that essential distinction for the democratic citizen. Half his book examines a peculiarly American problem, the selection of faculties for State Universities; he rates ' educationists ' very low. An unusually costly book.

K. H.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL BOOK-KEEPING By J. R. B. Derksen (National Institute of Economics and Social Research C U P 5/–)

Outlines the system of ' national book-keeping ' which has been developed in recent years in Holland. Generalising the method of ordinary book-keeping, money inflows and outflows are set down side by side for enterprises, consumer, households, Government, collective income recipients and foreign economies. A national balance sheet is also drawn up. A valuable method for checking statistical estimates and for showing where there are weaknesses in national economic statistics. The method is illustrated for the Dutch economy. The paper is of interest to students of the national income.

G. D. N. W.

BEYOND SUPPLY AND DEMAND: A Reappraisal of Institutional Economics By John S. Gambs (Columbia University Press Jeoffrey Cumberlege 10/6)

This book deals with the theories of Thorstein Veblen and other ' institutionalists '. Institutionalism, as here expounded, holds that ' standard economics ' are based on psychological assumptions which are often incorrect or inadequate : that economic activity is often determined by a human tendency towards coercion : that there is a conflict between man's constructive and destructive propensities. The theme is important and interesting, and it is pleasant to find among the current output of American economic writing ' a denial of the automatic organisation of our economic system.' The style, however, is cloudy. There is too much allusion and not enough exposition. And it would have been interesting to see some mention of those contemporary ' non-standard ' economists who are attempting to make economics realistic without too much excursion into uncharted areas of psychology.

L. P.

HISTORY OF ECONOMIC DOCTRINES : An Introduction to Economic Theory By Eduard Heimann (Oxford University Press $3.50)

The author sets out ' to present the history of economics as a sequence of the methods employed in solving the problem of economics ', which he seems to believe to be one and the same problem of technique for either a socialist or a capitalist society. ' Marx's attempt to prove by economic theory that the workers are exploited by the capitalists must be accounted a failure.' The book is on the whole a series of judgments on the rightness or wrongness of writers on economics, and will be of interest to those who wish to compare such judgments with their own. One warning. In spite of the title, this is not for beginners. Take this passage : ' As the profit represented by the distance between average cost and average revenue at the intersection of the marginal curve attracts more competitors, these reduce the demand for the products of the individual firm and thus shift its demand (revenue) curve downward '. This, without diagrams, is as helpful to an amateur as instructions how to tie a new knot without illustrations.

L. P.

ECONOMIC PLANNING By Ludwig von Mises and Rufus S. Tucker

This little booklet, published by ' Dynamic Americ. Inc.', has been received with the compliments of Ludwig von Mises. The m: .ture is as before, but the chapter headings make stimulating reading. Here is a selection—' Even Marx condemned Interventionism ', ' Minimum Wage Rates Bring About Mass Unemployment ', ' George III was a Planner ', ' The Recent Depression was Caused by Planning', ' Each Step Leads to Another '.

L. P.

EDUCATIONAL ISSUES OF TODAY Education : Christian or Pagan By M. V. C. Geffreys (Edited by W. R. N. Niblett 4/6)

This series of books is intended to help readers to explore some of the great educational issues of today. Education, the writer explains, necessarily reflects the beliefs and assumptions of the times, and Christianity here has insights to

offer for which there is no substitute. ' There are no more dangerous (and usually unconscious) enemies of Christianity ', the writer concludes, ' than the people who talk about " the Christian ethic " and " spiritual values ", but who at bottom are thinking in terms of man's upward aspiration and achievement and self-perfection . . . . . We cannot keep the Christian ethic without the Christian Religion.' Religion has been defined by Matthew Arnold as ' Morality touched by emotion '—love of ' the Eternal, not ourselves that makes for righteousness '. St. Augustine has said more simply : ' Love God and do what you will '. The counsel is one of perfection, but how few of us can rise to these heights. May it not be equally true to say that without the Christian ethic there can for most of us poor mortals be no Christianity at all ?

B. D.

GROWING UP IN A MODERN SOCIETY By Marjorie Reeves (University of London Press 4/6)

' The purpose of all education ', the writer sums up, ' is just this ; to mature a child within an earthly city in order that he may freely seek a heavenly.' The aim is high—even a regeneration of all mankind.

B. D.

COMMUNITY CENTRES AND ASSOCIATIONS IN MANCHESTER : A survey of the Manchester and Stafford Council of Social Service

While conscious both of success and failure, of happy achievement and dismal quarrelling, the Chairman of the Council records among his foremost recollections : ' The beauty of faces and flowers and voices at children's festivals ; . . . The eloquence of the leader of a local band, expressing gratitude for the provision of non-licensed premises on which to meet and hold rehearsals ; the ingenuity and persistence of small groups of women in raising quite large sums of money for good purposes ; . . . . . elderly people happily dancing the valeta in an old house ; . . . . . the Sunday evening meeting of a youth group in the summer of 1939 and boys and girls, not yet in uniform, asking the reasons for the coming war ; the interminable committees, the conferences . . . . .' The Survey gives a stimulating and encouraging picture of new social experiment.

B. D.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD TO MATURITY By Guildfoyle Williams (Heinemann 8/6)

The purpose of the book is to assist in removing causes of mental ill-health and faulty character formation. The writer discusses just the formation of character in the infant, then the wider aspects of education and mental training in children and later life. ' As individuals,' he concludes, ' we have to learn to control that personal selfishness and sense of self-importance which may have been of value in the past, but now is becoming archaic.' We must, in short, be good Socialists.

B. D.

THE SPIRIT OF THE CHILD By Marjorie Thriburn (Allen & Unwin 7/6)

This original book, the writer tells us, arose from ' a quest for spiritual truth and an effort to reach fundamental values '. When and whence came the knowledge of right and wrong ? Is the child born in original sin, or is it originally perfect ? A detailed study of her own two children under five, and her observations generally of small children, have led the writer to certain conclusions which seem not only to elucidate general principles, but also in some cases to invalidate common assumptions.

B. D.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND THE SCHOOL By William C. Kvaraceus (George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. 1945 12/6 nett)

A workmanlike and very useful study of the role of the school in the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency, carried out by the author at the Children's Bureau

in the industrial city of Passaic, New Jersey. Methods of investigation and of the treatment and control of delinquency are discussed ; and other researches are considered. The complex interplay of many contributory factors in the general problem and in individual cases is well brought out.

S. I.

OUTLINES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE U K By J. J. Clarke (Pitman & Sons 1945 10/– 366 pp)

This is the 15th edition of a book first published in 1916. It is written in rather a dull fashion and lacks that drive and verve which is necessary to inspire interest in our local machine. More useful as a reference book than a critical guide to ambitious and lively democrats.

R. D.

YOUR BARNES : A Plan prepared for the Barnes Labour Party (Jason Press 6d)

In a personal message to the citizens of Barnes, the sponsors of the plan proclaim : ' Here is the plan . . . . The Barnes Labour Party knows what it wants ; it believes it knows what you want ; this is the framework within which the Labour Party, through its representation on the Borough Council, will build the Barnes of your dreams. Only through a strong Labour Party can you be sure the plan will be brought to fruition.' May Labour everywhere give the same lively lead.

B. D.

HOMES BY THE MILLION (Penguin Books 2/–)

This informative illustrated survey by Hugh Casson, M A, A R I B A, describes American defence housing from 1940 to 1945 in rehousing 8 million people and deals with the provision of temporary and permanent houses together with social and educational amenities of a communal character.

R. C. S.

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE By Paul Elek (Association of Building Technicians 7/6)

This valuable survey by a Committee of the Association of the Building Technicians, with a foreword by the Minister of Health, clearly emphasises the gravity of the housing problem. It surveys on sound lines standards of housing and the technique of housing construction under Structure, Insulation, Finishes, Services, Equipment and Planning. In Chapter 10—' Costs and Rents '—attention is given to the mal influence of interest rates on costs of house building, a matter more fully examined in ' Private Enterprise Housing ' (Ministry of Health). The survey is fully illustrated, with references and index.

R. C. S.

ELECTRICITY AND THE BUILDING INDUSTRY By F. C. Orchard (Chapman and Hall 15/–)

In 230 pages the author has packed every detail relating to the use of electricity in building on a large or small scale. This book will be of considerable interest to those concerned with the practical side of housing.

D. G. T.

OLD PEOPLE'S WELFARE (National Old People's Welfare Committee in association with National Council of Social Service 1/6)

The pamphlet comes at an opportune moment and gives a valuable lead. Visitors and home helps, Community meals and clubs, housing accommodation and voluntary homes, all have a part to play in the well-being of the old. Visitors, kindly and tactful, will be welcomed by many lonely old persons, and home helps are an urgent need of the infirm. Clubs and community restaurants will give new life to thousands of dull and dreary existences, but must the older be separated from the younger generations ? Temperamental

affinity, mutual tastes and interests may be a closer link than age and a more solid basis for happy intercourse and entertainment. Most pressing of all is the need for suitable housing accommodation, if possible, with central heating and other modern amenities, where old people may retain their independence and yet not lose touch with their families and familiar associations. For the friendless and more helpless, the voluntary home, with a matron in charge, is suggested as the best situation. Agreed, but please, please, so pleads a septuagenarian, a room of one's own.

B. D.

PATENT MEDICINES: AN INDICTMENT By Hugh Linstead, M P (Published by National Newsletter 1/–)

The majority of people at some time or another use proprietary medicines, and all investigations show that at the same time the majority of people condemn them. The patent medicine industry has grown to an enormous size and it has so many obvious defects and potentialities for fraud that sooner or later it must be brought under control and probably abolished entirely in its present form. This is one of the problems which have not been tackled by the Labour Government's first proposals for a National Health Service, but sooner or later it will have to be dealt with. This thirty-two page pamphlet is an admirable summary of the present position, and in appendices indicates what has already been attempted in the way of control. Mr Linstead suggests nine different things that need to be done if the citizen is to be protected ' from worthless or dangerous medicines and from false, fraudulent or exaggerated claims in advertisements '. The first and most important of these is that the Minister of Health must accept responsibility for the control of proprietary medicines and must have the power to deal with advertisements. These powers could have been taken in the present legislation, and this useful pamphlet shows why they must be taken at an early date.

D. S. M.

THE BAKING INDUSTRY and **COTTON AT THE CROSS-ROADS** (Published by the Labour Research Department 3d)

Two excellent factual surveys of the Baking and Cotton industries. Bread rationing has brought the baking industry into prominence and the facts here produced deserve careful consideration. The pamphlet on the cotton industry is an explanation of the Working Party's report. Both pamphlets are very readable.

P. P.

WHOSE DOMINION By Cecil Northcott (Edinburgh House Press 2/–)

This is a statement of the case for missionary enterprise in the modern world The author has travelled widely and has been able to use many homely stories illustrating the influence which Christianity exercises both at home and in remote places of the world.

P. P.

THE CASE FOR PACIFISM AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION (1946) By Rev. E. L. Allen, Francis E. Pollard and G. A. Sutherland (Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6, Endsleigh Street, W C 1 2/9)

Over a year ago Professor G. C. Field, in his Pacifism and Conscientious Objection published by the Cambridge University Press, wrote a strong criticism of Conscientious Objectors based on his experiences as a member of a Conscientious Objectors Tribunal. This is the reply of three leading pacifists.

The Rev. Allen shows how necessary and desirable a stand for an absolute moral principle is and suggests that Christianity must inevitably lead to a pacifist point of view.

Francis Pollard points out some errors in Professor Field's arguments and says that from the experiments in Pennsylvania and other places that pacifism is a practical policy.

G. A. Sutherland effectually turns the criticism on to members of the Tribunals themselves.

As the State extends its control over economic and social life so war becomes more totalitarian and an institution accepted as necessary by ordinary citizens but even politicians now at least pay lip service to the view that another war will finish civilisation.

Is pacifism the only practical alternative to the Atom Bomb ? Those who disagree should at any rate know the strong case which pacifists can put up as shown in these three essays.

R. S. W. P.

AGGRESSION AND POPULATION By F. J. Dawson (Rockliff 5/6)

' The aggressor states must be utterly defeated and never again allowed the means to threaten world peace.' Such phrases today are the small change of politicians of the United Nations, but the writer asks a more pertinent question. ' What is underneath aggression and unprovoked attack ? ' National rivalry, personal ambition, perhaps ? But one man, even a few men, cannot effectively move millions to the burdens of war. There are deeper causes. ' Unemployment and hunger after the first world war were direct causes of the second world war '. Without mass discontent and unsatisfied desires, a few bellicose militarists, even the dictator's megalomaniac ambition, will not find the material for world war of aggression. That the ' have's ' and the ' Have not's ' can no longer live together at peace in a shrinking world, few today will dispute, but how far the remedy may lie in compulsory adjustments of population to land and resources, or in a planned and more equitable distribution of these between the peoples, seems more open to question. Experience suggests that control of the birth rate follows rather than precedes a rise in the standard of living and—its accompaniment—the spread of knowledge. Prosperity is the mother of prudence.

B. D.

REPORT ON THE RUSSIANS By W. L. White (Eyre & Spottiswoode 10/6)

This is an unimportant book which became notorious through a condensation issued in the Reader's Digest (of which Mr White is—or was—one of the editors). The short version contained certain errors for which Mr White now apologises, amending them in the 2nd impression of his book. Actually, if one makes due allowance for the naiveté of an American who regards Socialism as Antichrist, Mr White's book is an honest job of reporting. And he thinks the ' Soviet racial-colonial policy . . . . . is infinitely better than ' the American ' bungling and thoughtless treatment of the Negro '.

W. W. M.

A CONTINENT EXPERIMENTS By Lt.-Col. The Hon. C. B. Birdwood, M V O (Skeffington & Son 21/–)

A book written from a Conservative Military background. Therefore, has to be read, and recommended, with discretion. Nevertheless, it has an appeal. Written with sincerity and with genuine love for India and Indians. It is refreshingly broad-minded and holds the interest, being a stimulating mixture of the memories, experiences, reflections and political conclusions of a man with 25 years of Indian Service behind him. There is much that is challenging in material and judgment in the book, both as regards politicians and parties and recommendations for the future of India.

E. M.

THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA By Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Meridian Books 25/-)

Partly a continuation of his autobiography, this is a many-sided record of the thoughts of India's present Prime Minister during his latest spell in jail. It is a vivid portrait of his mind, and of the intellectual environment of modern India. One feels him to be still, happily, a young man and often he seems to

be speaking for the modern socialist generation of all countries, at least as much as for the Indian nationalist movement.

T. C. B.

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA, 1900-1940 (Published by the Indian Council of World Affairs and Oxford University Press)

The tables and analysis thereof are introduced by a chapter on " The Planning of Foreign Trade " (looked at from India's point of view) spiced with some delightful comments on modern economic theories and policies, which show the author to be a good Fabian socialist.

T. C. B.

POVERTY AND SOCIAL CHANGE : A STUDY IN THE ECONOMIC REORGANISATION OF INDIAN RURAL SOCIETY By Tarlok Singh (Longmans 6/-)

In the course of some years as an administrator of rural districts in the Punjab, Tarlok Singh has worked out a method of rural economic development designed to achieve the full gains of modern scientific methods of production without demanding too sudden and difficult changes in the villagers' outlook. He has discussed the changes required with many villagers and has ingeniously fitted into their whole social and ideological heritage an essentially socialising process.

T. C. B.

PAKISTAN : A NATION By El Hamza

Sets out concisely, with the aid of an excellent collection of maps and diagrams, the case for Pakistan, or a fortiori for a maximum of Provincial autonomy, together with much information and thought that is full of interest irrespective of one's view on this major controversy. The linguistic, racial, climatic and especially the economic grounds for division are all examined and illustrated. The position of the Sikhs, the irrigation and railway systems, distribution of principal crops, of population and industry are shown.

T. C. B.

WHAT CONGRESS FIGHTS FOR (Election Manifesto 1945-6)

India's ' Let us face the future ' is a fine document which none of her friends should be without. The basic human rights and liberties are set out with India's immediate economic and social needs in well-balanced perspective.

T. C. B.

FASCISM INSIDE ENGLAND By Frederic Mullally (Claud Morris Books 6/-)

Well documented, this book describes the activities of the B U F and other Fascist bodies in England before and since the recent war. The author insists that the possibility of a revival and growth of the Fascist movement in Britain is not negligible. The style is vigorous and the treatment not over-dramatic, except perhaps in the first chapter. There are too many British Socialists who forget the extent of Mosley's movement in the 'thirties. They should read this book.

L. P.

PRINCIPAL WHITE PAPERS PUBLISHED 24th JULY to 18th OCTOBER 1946

Title	*Date of Issue*	*Cmd. No.*	*Price*
Housing Return for Scotland. 30.6.46	July	6869	3d
Housing Return for England and Wales. 30.6.46	July	6870	4d
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Final Report of the New Towns Committee ..	July	6876	1/3
Increases in Old Age, Widows and Blind Persons' Pensions	July	6878	2d
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Second Review of the World Food Shortage. July 1946	August	6879	6d
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Marriage Bar in the Civil Service. Report of the Civil Service National Whitley Council Committee	August	6886	4d
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Police. Counties and Boroughs, England and Wales. Report of H M Inspectors of Constabulary for year ended 29.9.45	August	—	4d
Social Service in India. An introduction to some Social and Economic Problems of the Indian People. 1939 (Formerly out of print, now re-issued.)	August	—	10/6
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Ironstone Industry. Report on the Restoration Problem in the Ironstone Industry in the Midlands	September	6906	3d
Trade and Payments Agreement between U K and Turkey. 4.5.45	September	6907	3d
Housing Return for Scotland. 31.8.46	September	6909	3d
Housing Return for England and Wales. 31.8.46	September	6910	4d
Printing Trades Dispute. Report of Court of Inquiry into a Dispute between the British Federation of Master Printers and the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation	September	6912	4d
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Monthly Digest of Statistics No. 8. August 1946. Central Statistical Office	September	—	2/6
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BILLS INTRODUCED BETWEEN 24th JULY and 18th OCTOBER 1946

Title	*Date of Introduction*
Consolidated Funds (Appropriation)	29.7.46
Coinage	9.10.46
Public Works Loans (No. 2)	9.10.46
Unemployment Insurance (Eire Volunteers) ..	9.10.46
Road Traffic (Driving Licenses)	15.10.46

N.B.—THE LIST OF BILLS AND WHITE PAPERS WILL IN FUTURE BE PRINTED MONTHLY IN FABIAN NEWS AND WILL NOT THEREFORE APPEAR IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF FABIAN QUARTERLY.